

The Sacred Sea:

Religious Practices in Maritime Context



Zadar, 2-5 May 2024



University of Zadar
Universitas Studiorum
Jadertina | 1396 | 2002 |



Department of Ethnology
and Anthropology
University of Zadar



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Croatian Science
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Pilgrimar project of Croatian Science Foundation
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Invited Speakers:

Dionigi Albera
Marion Bowman

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Representations of boats and ships in temples and tombs and their connection to the divine have been present in the Mediterranean context since humans 'set sail.' Already in the late Neolithic period the inhabitants of Malta and Gozo constructed places of worship along the coast which contained depictions of sea creatures. The Caananites also worshipped the god, Yam, who represented the sea, while among the Levantines the god, Astarte, had a special place among seafarers, and Greeks worshipped Poseidon, the god of the sea. Although many holy figures connected to the sea were male, goddesses were also common throughout the Mediterranean (Gambin 2014: 4). In ancient Egypt the cult of the goddess, Isis, was connected to boats and sea (Canney 1938) and in Roman times there was a twin cult of Isis-Sarapis that was respected by seafarers. Navigium Isidis, a Roman festival in honour of the goddess Isis, was held in early March to open the sailing season.

Although a direct connection cannot be proved, it is evident that Christianity adopted the tradition belief in female deities intervening on behalf of seafarers (Gambin 2014: 4). It seems that the earliest formal evidence of the Madonna being venerated in a maritime context comes from Barcelona in Catalonia. Here we can find a church dedicated to the Virgin named Santa Maria del Mar. The contemporary church dates from the late 14th century but the first reference to Santa Maria del Mar is from 1102 (Gertwagen 2006: 151).

Some authors argue that Marian devotionism is a product of Tridentine educational reforms and baroque Catholicism

(Stevens-Arroyo 1998: 55 and 69), which emphasized subjective feelings. The spiritual was miraculous, magical, and mystical, manifesting itself by merging material with the divine (Stevens-Arroyo 1998: 59).

Although Mary was a very important figure to eastern Christians, it seems that her role as a maritime saint among Greeks emerged only after Latin Christians spread the idea in the eastern Mediterranean (Remensnyder 2018: 306). By the late Middle Ages even non-Christian seafarers such as Muslims and Jews knew her reputation as the star of the Mediterranean and her powers over sea (Remensnyder 2018: 299).

Religious practices connected to the sea are also well represented beyond the Mediterranean. For example, in Bali, Hindus carry small statues that embody gods and deified ancestors from temples and homes to the sea for a symbolic washing ceremony called Melasti. Iemanjá, the African goddess of the sea, is worshiped by coastal Brazilians, particularly those who practise the religion of Candomblé. During the ritual of Tashlikh, Jews also gather by the ocean to symbolically cast away their sins and ask for forgiveness. It is safe to conclude that all world religions have saints connected to the sea and have some form of religious practices performed within a maritime context.

Since the beginning of the 21st century a body of literature has emerged that covers almost every aspect of the social and cultural contexts within which pilgrimage sites and practices exist and are created and (re)created, i.e. politics, tourism, migration, place-making, heritage, etc. (see, for example, Badone and



Roseman 2004; Coleman and Eade 2004; Collins-Kreiner and Gattrell 2006; Ross-Bryant 2013; Eade and Katić 2014; Katić et al. 2014; Maddrell et al. 2014; Reader 1993, 2013, 2015; Di Giovine and Garcia-Fuentes 2016; Pazos 2016; Eade and Katić 2018; Flaskerud and Natvig 2017; Coleman and Eade 2018; Coleman and Bowman 2019; Rousseau 2022). However, scant attention has been paid to pilgrimage and religious practices, in general, within a maritime context. Scholarly work has been undertaken on historical and diachronic perspectives and descriptions of the saint cults connected to the sea but very little has been done on the development of sites, cults and practices in contemporary times. For example, while there are many religious rituals and pilgrimages connected to the sea within Europe, including those in Ireland (Harbinson 1992; Katić & McDonald 2020), Norway (Mikaelsson & Selberg 2020), Poland (Palmowski & Przybylska 2022), Spain (Gambin 2014: 8), Italy (Gambin 2014: 8), France (Badone 2008), Greece (Gertwagen 2006), and Croatia and Montenegro (Katić & Blaće 2023), so far no one has addressed the diversity of ritual practices linked to contemporary maritime pilgrimages and processions. Recent process of caminoisation across Europe (Bowman et al. 2020) revealed the long-established tradition of maritime pilgrimage in northern Europe, while at the same time new routes are being invented which cross the sea and land (Mikaelsson and Selberg 2020; Lunde 2022). Although all pilgrimages involve some measure of an embodied experience, this aspect comes forth, especially in maritime pilgrimages. Traveling by boat

creates a different bodily and thus spiritual experience. While the traveller may not exert the same level of physical energy or effort when journeying on water, the sea is a 'dangerous and alien environment... in which man is poorly equipped to survive, ... a realm that man enters only with the support of artificial devices' (Acheson, 1981, p. 276). Therefore, the pilgrim traversing water faces greater physical and perhaps spiritual risk while in transit to the sacred site than would a walking pilgrim (Katić and McDonald 2020: 13). Religious practices in maritime context raises the issue of materiality as well as symbols since it involves the relationship between humans and other-than-humans (the sea, wind, boats, sails) and different skills from walking, i.e. rowing, use of the wind and currents. So, it can be approached through both the representational and the relational perspective.

With this conference we want to gather scholars interested in both past and present religious practices within a maritime context, so that we can discuss, combine and compare different approaches, problems and perspectives towards the study of the connection between saints and the sea. We do not want to focus on any particular geographical and religious context, or moment in time, and we welcome different disciplinary approaches.



CONFERENCE PROGRAM



DAY 1 – May 2

18:00

Opening of the conference – Building of the Rectorate

DAY 2 – May 3

SEP building, Šime Vitasovića 1, Room 001

9:00–10:00

1st keynote lecture – Vernacular Religion in Maritime Contexts:
Perils, Perspectives and Praxis
/ Marion Bowman / moderator Mario Katić

10:00–10:15

discussion

10:15–10:30

coffee break

Session 1 (20 min papers + 10 min discussion) / moderator Ante Blaće

10:30 – 11:00

The Sacred Sea or the Sea of the Damned?
Image of the Sea in Medieval Adriatic Hagiographies / Trpimir Vedriš

11:00 – 11:30

The Saint and the Sea:
The Diffusion of the Cult of San Francesco di Paola in Early Modern Catholic
Mediterranean / Giulia Zanon

11:30 – 12:00

Ship Eyes (opthalmoi) – Ancient Greek Apotropaic Treatment or Religious Ritual.
A Reference to Greek Magic / Krzysztof Ulanowski



12:00 – 14:00

lunch break

Session 2 (20 min + 10 min discussion) / moderator Mirela Hrovatin

14:00 – 14:30

A Celtic Lens on Sea, Spirituality and Sailing / Bernadette Flanagan

14:30 – 15:00

Croatian Maritime Pilgrimages and Contemporary Tourism / Tomislav Klarin

15:00 – 15:30

On Religious and Historical Imageries:
Slavic Netherworld Across a Sea / Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

15:30 – 16:00

coffee break

Session 3 (20 min paper + 10 min discussion) / moderator Giulia Zanon

16:00 – 16:30

The Geography of the Adriatic Maritime Pilgrimages / Ante Blaće

16:30 – 17:00

Jeju Chilmeoridang Yeongdeunggut:
Haenyeo's Gestures and Dialogues through Annual Water Rituals to Honour
Intangible Wind Goddess, Korea / Hee Sook LEE-NIINIOJA

17:00 – 17:30

The Marriage of the Sea and the Cosmic-Political Vision of Carl Schmitt
/ Orazio Maria Gnerre

18:00 – 19:00

Exhibition "Remember me!" – Archaeological Museum Zadar



DAY 3 – May 4

SEP building, Šime Vitasovića 1, Room 001

9:00–10:00

2nd keynote lecture – Liminal Spaces:
Interfaith Convergence and Sharing in Mediterranean Islands
/ Dionigi Albera / moderator Mario Katić

10:00–10:15

discussion

10:15–10:30

coffee break

Session 4 (20 min + 10 min discussion)
/ moderator Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

10:30 – 11:00

Maritime Pilgrimage to Madonna of the Reef in Perast, Montenegro / Mario Katić

11:00 – 11:30

Catholics and Muslims at the Procession of Our Lord of Navigators
/ Laura Mineiro Teixeira

11:30 – 12:00

Pilgrimage to Our Lady of Zečevo as Intangible Cultural Heritage
/ Mirela Hrovatin

12:00 – 14:00

lunch break

Session 5 (20 min + 10 min discussion) / moderator Tomislav Klarin

14:00 – 14:30

Pilgrimage as a Social Center of a Community – Social Spaces and Networks
in the Example of Our Lady of the Snows in Kukljica / Adriana Pojatina



14:30 – 15:00

The Perception of Space from the Perspective of the Island Community:
A Case Study of the Pilgrimage to the Queen of Fishermen / Petra Valovičić

15:00 – 15:30

Remoteness and Peripherality Enhance Religiosity / Karmen Turčinov

15:30 – 16:00

coffee break

16:00 – 16:30

Fieldwork preparations:
Introduction to Madonna of Zečevo in Nin / Mirela Hrovatin

18:00 – 19:00

Guided tour around Zadar pilgrimage churches

DAY 4 – May 5

Nin and Zečevo

06:00

Bus to Nin

7:00 – 13:00

Pilgrimage

13:00 – 14:00

Lunch in Nin

14:30

Back to Zadar



ABSTRACTS



VERNACULAR RELIGION IN MARITIME CONTEXTS: PERILS, PERSPECTIVES AND PRAXIS

Marion Bowman

This paper will examine the conference theme, Religious Practices in Maritime Contexts, through the lens of vernacular religion – “an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the religious lives of individuals with special attention to the process of religious belief, the verbal, behavioral, and material expressions of religious belief, and the ultimate object of religious belief” (Primiano 1995, 44). As a methodology, vernacular religion focusses on the minutiae of how people live their religion in particular contexts, their interaction with material culture and the natural world, their flexible attitude to and use of tradition, and their frequently complex relationship and negotiations with institutional forms of religiosity, all of which is clearly highly pertinent to the study of praxis and pilgrimage in relation to the sea.

Three overarching themes – perils, perspectives and praxis – will frame comparisons between historical and contemporary interactions with and attitudes to the sea, with examples ranging from the Hebridean islands of Scotland to the seaborne Pilgrimages for Women offered by the monasteries of Mount Athos.

The paper will also highlight the remarkable development of pilgrimage in Northern Europe. Pilgrimage is now being rediscovered, revived, restored and ‘re-storied’ in areas where the theological underpinnings, the material culture and praxis of pilgrimage were discredited and largely destroyed in the wake of the Protestant Reformation. The heritagisation of

religion, the spiritualisation of heritage, changing attitudes to the natural world and the influence of ‘Caminoisation’ (Bowman and Sepp, 2019) have played key roles in the remapping of pilgrim routes and re-presentation of pilgrim practices in Northern Europe. Within this context, the study of pilgrimage in relation to islands, including Iona and Orkney in the United Kingdom, provides rich insights into the ebbs and flows of vernacular religiosity and contemporary spirituality.

Marion Bowman is Professor Emerita of Vernacular Religion, The Open University, UK. With an academic background in both Religious Studies and Folklore/ Ethnology, Marion’s research has been largely fieldwork-based, with people within, on the margins of and outside institutional religion. She has conducted long term research in Glastonbury, a significant pilgrimage destination and microcosm of contemporary spirituality and vernacular religiosity.

Marion was Co-Investigator on the project *Pilgrimage and England’s Cathedrals, Past and Present* (2014–2018), and as visiting Professor at the University of Oslo (2016–2018) spearheaded research on the phenomenon of ‘new’ and ‘renewed’ pilgrimage in Norway and other parts of northern Europe. She is currently External Scientific Expert on a collaborative project with researchers in Estonia, Norway, Lithuania and Latvia, *Re-storied Sites and Routes as Inclusive Spaces and Places: Shared Imaginations and Multi-layered Heritage*, and in 2023 was academic consultant for the BBC series *Scotland’s Sacred Islands*.

Marion was Vice-President of the European Association for the Study of Religions (2013 – 2019), and is a past president of both the British Association for the

Study of Religions and The Folklore Society; in 2021 she was elected as an American Folklore Society International Fellow.

Recent publications include *Vernacular Knowledge: Contesting Authority, Expressing Beliefs*, co-edited with Ülo Valk (Equinox 2022); *Religion in Cathedrals: Pilgrimage, Place, Heritage, and the Politics of Replication*, co-edited with Simon Coleman (Routledge 2022); and 'Reframing Pilgrimage in Northern Europe' Special Issue of *NUMEN* 67 (5-6), 2020), co-edited with Dirk Johannsen and Ane Ohrvik.

THE SACRED SEA OR THE SEA OF THE DAMNED? IMAGES OF THE SEA IN MEDIEVAL ADRIATIC HAGIOGRAPHIES *

Trpimir Vedriš

The majority of the medieval urban patron saints in the eastern Adriatic originate from areas outside this region. As a rule, these are early Christian martyrs whose relics were transferred to Istrian and Dalmatian cities during late antiquity or the early Middle Ages. Reports of these transmissions are preserved within the specific legends commonly referred to as translationes (lit. "transmission reports"). While, in many respects, these texts rely on older universal hagiography, they were shaped within specific literary conventions characteristic of the early medieval sub-genre. Among other details characteristic of the communities within which they were created, these accounts often contain a description (or at least a review) of a sea voyage.

Thus – placing these accounts in the broader context of references to the sea in scriptural tradition and medieval voyage

accounts – the proposed paper focuses on the analysis of the motive of the transfer of relics by sea. The goal of the inquiry is twofold: (a) to outline the representations of the sea as a reflection of a specific spiritual-symbolic context and, along these lines, (b) to detect the symbolic role the sea plays in the "drama of the transfer" of the relics. The latter will be examined from the point of view of insights into the nature and role of liminality in rites of passage, without losing sight of the specific historical context of the formation of these narratives.

Trpimir Vedriš is an Associate Professor at the Department of History at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb and a visiting lecturer at the University of Dubrovnik. He studied History and Ethnography at the University of Zagreb (BA 2001), philosophy at the Jesuit Faculty of Philosophy, and obtained an MA in Medieval Studies at the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University in Budapest. He holds a PhD in history from Medieval Studies from the Central European University (2015). His research and teaching focus on medieval hagiography and the cult of the saints in the Adriatic, the history of Christianity, Croatian medieval history and modern receptions of the Middle Ages.

He is the author of a monograph *Hagiografija i rani kult sv. Anastazije i sv. Križogona u Zadru* [The Hagiography and Early Cult of Saint Anastasia and Saint Grisogono in Zadar] (Hagiotheca – Leykam, 2019). Among his recent relevant publications are two edited volumes: *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, co-edited with D. Dzino and A. Milošević, (Brill, 2018) and *Imperial*

Spheres and the Adriatic: Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812), co-edited with M. Ančić and J. Shepard, (Routledge, 2018).

He is a member (and since 2019 president) of the Croatian Hagiography Society 'Hagiotheca' and editor of a series of proceedings of hagiographic conferences.

THE DIFFUSION OF THE CULT OF SAN FRANCESCO DI PAOLA IN EARLY MODERN CATHOLIC MEDITERRANEAN

Giulia Zanon

This paper examines the central role played by the sea in the development of new religious devotions in pre-modern Europe. By analysing the cult of San Francesco di Paola, the paper explores the relationship of the saint with the maritime environment looking at the Republic of Venice, the Adriatic Sea and the Mediterranean as a whole. Less than a century after the death of the saint, fuelled by the Counter-Reformation, his cult was widespread along the Mediterranean coasts of Catholic countries.

San Francesco di Paola offered protection to those who navigated waters and against dangerous maritime environments, as several of his miracles were related to the sea. He was able to stop sea storms, navigate on his cloak, revive fish, and even protect against the Turks. For these reasons, he was considered one of the patron saints of seafarers and sailors, and his cult appealed to many travellers of the time. The centrality of the sea for this religious cult is also attested by its prominence in paintings, through the representation of either specific miracles related to maritime environments or the presence of the sea in

the background.

Through the cross-analysis of hagiographies of the saint, paintings, frescoes and ex-votos, the paper argues that miracles of the saint related to the sea favoured the diffusion of the cult of San Francesco di Paola and that the circulation of people and materials – which at the time was mainly by boat – further strengthened the adherence to this devotion on the coasts. More broadly, the paper sheds new light on the importance of the sea and the related environment in shaping and spreading new Catholic cults in the early modern period.

Gulia Zanon

With a BA in Cultural Heritage (2011) and MA in History and Geography of Europe (2014) from the University of Verona, Gulia Zanon was awarded her PhD from the University of Leeds in 2020. After her PhD, she was a postdoctoral fellow at the Leeds Arts and Humanities Research Institute at the University of Leeds, working on post-Tridentine Catholic devotions in early modern Italy.

In 2022, she became post-doctoral fellow of the Institute of History of Art at the University Nova of Lisbon, working on the cross-cultural connections between Lisbon and Venice in the early modern period, by studying the circulation of people, material and visual cultures between the two cities across the Mediterranean Sea.

In her current research project at the Department of Humanities, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, 'Devotions on the Move: The Circulation of the Cult of San Francesco di Paola in Early Modern Mediterranean', she investigates how mobility shaped the devotion of new saints around the Mediterranean Sea (1545-1800c.).

SHIP EYES (OPHTHALMOI) – ANCIENT GREEK APOTROPAIC TREATMENT OR RELIGIOUS RITUAL. A REFERENCE TO GREEK MAGIC

Krzysztof Ulanowski

Greeks' ships have been decorated or rather "equipped" with circular eyes since at least the Late Geometric Period (c. 760-700 B.C.E.). Unfortunately, we do not have much material in ancient Greek and Latin literature to clearly explain the meaning of this procedure.

According to Homer, Aeschylus and others, ship's eyes, ophthalmoi, were affixed to let it see underwater and avoid the misfortunes while sailing at sea. Merchant ships were equipped with circular eyes and warships displayed the more anthropomorphic almond-shaped eyes. Ships were regarded as a kind of living creatures. The launch of a warship involved a rather cruel ceremony: the classical authors mention the prisoners being crushed beneath the hull so that the ship would be spared further bloodletting. It seems that the role of these eyes was not only to see, but also to protect the ship itself and its crew from the sinister activities of enemies; the jealousy of gods and men was one of the crew's basic fears.

My question is whether ophthalmoi were strictly an apotropaic device or whether they paid homage to the divine guardians of sailors – Poseidon, Dionysus, Nereids, etc.. In a broader context, did they refer to magic or religion, and does such a distinction make sense in the case of ancient Greeks?

Krzysztof Ulanowski is an Associate

Professor (Ph.D.) in the Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Gdańsk. He has conducted research both in academic centers in Paris, Padua, Athens, and undertaken field research in Mexico, Bhutan and Podlasie (Poland). His main scientific interests relate not only to anthropology but to Religious Studies, History, Classical and Oriental Studies. This is reflected in his research topics, i.e. the study of the influences of the Mesopotamian civilization on Hellenic (and Hellenistic) civilizations, the differences between religion, magic and divination in history and contemporary times, the anthropology of ancient cultures, the borders between religions and cultures, the differences between holiness and exclusion in religious sphere and also the problems of religious minorities in Pomerania and magical rites of the contemporary world.

He is affiliated to a number of organizations, including The Polish Orientalist Society (PTO), The Classical Association, UK (CA), Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), International Association for Assyriology (IAA), Societas Philologa Polonorum (PTF), and General Association of Mediterranean Archaeology (GAMA). He is a board member of the international Melammu Project on the Heritage of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East and has published extensively.

A CELTIC LENS ON SEA, SPIRITUALITY AND SAILING

Bernadette Flanagan

Between the ninth and the tenth century, in an unknown European abbey,

an anonymous author told the story of an Irish monk and his fourteen companions who had embarked on a dangerous journey in the fifth century. The pilgrim monk's name was Brendan, and his destination was the Terra repromissionis sanctorum (The Promised Land of the Saints). This pilgrim, "Brendan the Navigator", had been born into a community with a lively maritime culture. The community was located in Fenit, north Kerry, Ireland. Brendan gave a new symbolic pilgrim quality to the seafaring activities of his community.

His maritime pilgrimage story has inspired numerous re-enactments. The focus of this paper will be Dónal Ó Céilleachair's 2018 film *The Camino Voyage* which, in the words of one of the crew (the late Danny Sheehy), led to the 'deepening and renewing of friendships, creativity and spirituality'. The crew included a writer, two musicians, an artist and a stonemason. They embarked on the 2,500 km Camino by Sea (Camino de Saile) from Ireland to Northern Spain in a traditional boat (naomhóg) which they had built themselves.

This paper will explore three themes from the indigenous spirituality of Ireland (Celtic Spirituality) which are evident in this maritime pilgrimage endeavour.

1. The Celtic alertness to the interdependence of the forces of nature with the inner consciousness of the human.
2. The Celtic belief that a spiritual presence infused daily life and had the power to transform it, so that at any moment, any object, any job of work, can become a place for encounter with transcendence - lighting the fire, making meals together, rowing a boat in unison, etc.
3. The Celtic 'immram' - journey into the unknown - a spiritual practice

which celebrates how dangerous journeys, particularly in the ocean, bring a voyager on a unique experience of awakening.

Bernadette Flanagan is a practitioner and researcher in applied spirituality studies, based at the South East Technological University in Waterford, Ireland. She has consulted to a wide range of organisations in Ireland and overseas on dimensions of spiritual education, spiritual care and spiritual practice in such fields as healthcare, education, relational wellbeing, aging; addiction and leadership.

Bernadette has supervised numerous research projects in spirituality studies and regularly examines doctoral spirituality projects outside Ireland. Her publications *The Routledge International Handbook of Spirituality in Society and the Professions*, co-edited with [Laszlo Zsolnai](#) (Routledge, 2019) and the forthcoming *Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in Spirituality and Contemplative Studies*, co-edited with [Kerri Clough](#), are at the frontiers of developments in spirituality studies.

CROATIAN MARITIME PILGRIMAGES AND CONTEMPORARY TOURISM *

Tomislav Klarin

Pilgrimage, as a journey to a religious centre, stands as a timeless expression of faith, embodying various characteristics across epochs while steadfastly preserving religious and cultural values. Its enduring significance underscores its integral role in the social fabric of local communities. However, amidst the evolving landscape of tourism, sacred pilgrimages are increasingly leveraged by destinations

to entice tourists and showcase their unique cultural tapestry. Yet, this convergence raises concerns of commodification and desecration, risking the transformation of sacred heritage into mere commercialized attractions.

In this context, this study aimed to explore the prospects and challenges of integrating maritime pilgrimages into the tourism offering. Research was conducted across four locales along the Croatian Adriatic, longstanding hosts to revered maritime pilgrimages dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Madonna). These sites were Madonna of Zečevo on Zečevo islet, Madonna of the Snow on Ugljan island, Madonna of the Fisherman on Piškera island and Madonna of Tarac on Kornat island.

The research comprised three distinct phases, engaging various stakeholder groups. Group interviews were convened with local stakeholders spanning the public and private sectors, as well as civil society. Concurrently, surveys were administered to both the local populace and tourists. The findings underscored that maritime pilgrimages should primarily serve as integral components of the socio-cultural and religious life of the community. While they may intersect with tourism, they ought not to be reduced to mere tourist commodities or attractions. Instead, they should be cherished as cultural and religious treasures that enhance the visitor experience within the destination.

The unique and delicate religious essence of maritime pilgrimages, while undoubtedly alluring for tourism due to their cultural and entertainment appeal, warrants cautious consideration when integrating them into the tourism offering. This necessitates a nuanced approach to their inclusion in the tourism offerings, emphasizing the preservation of their religious

sanctity and the potential for fostering religious tourism in a respectful manner.

Tomislav Klarin completed a Master's Degree (MA) in Business Economics in 2005, after which he worked in a few companies for several years. In 2011 he started to work as a Teaching and Research Assistant at the University of Zadar, Department of Tourism and Communication Studies. He completed his PhD in Economics in 2017, on the topic of destination management and sustainable tourism, and today works as an Associate Professor at the same department.

His interests are focused on tourism, especially on its sustainable development, destination management and special interest tourism (such as cultural and religious tourism), as well as cultural, financial and human resources management. He was a team member of two projects funded by the European Union and participated in two development studies of a tourism destination.

He has participated in several tourism conferences, both as presenter and working on organizing committees, has lectured internationally and has published in domestic and international journals. He has prepared and participated in various workshops, summer schools, forums, panels, seminars etc., with both academics and practitioners, as well as working with local communities.

ON RELIGIOUS AND HISTORICAL IMAGERIES: SLAVIC NETHERWORLD ACROSS A SEA

Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

The reconstruction of early medieval Slavic religion in Poland is a task under-

taken by various groups: contemporary pagans, historical re-enactors, people who identify themselves as Slavs and seek the roots of their identity in pre-Christian times. One of the goals of these groups is to recreate the idea of the Slavic underworld – a land ruled by the god Weles, located somewhere across a sea. The sea separating the living from the dead is not tangible, it belongs to religious imagery; however, it can be a real, experienced obstacle in communication with the dead.

In this paper I will focus on the ways in which an image of the netherworld as a land across the sea is constructed and how it is linked to two celebrations performed by contemporary Slavs: Dziady, a festival that invites the dead to feast with the living, and Farewell to Marzanna, a winter goddess who resides in the land of the dead. Both festivals are about helping, respectively, the souls or the goddess to make a successful journey across the sea. This is no easy task, as the sea is dangerous: souls can perish, and the goddess may not be eager to cross dangerous waters to make way for spring. The sea is thus conceptualized as a border between the living and the dead, between the world of humans and the world of gods: a border penetrable, but in ritualized forms. This fact influences not only reconstruction of Slavic mythology, but also scenarios of contemporary rituals.

Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

Kamila's research interests concern three fields: anthropology of religion, so called performance studies and representation of the past in modern culture. Using the interdisciplinary tools of ethnology, theatre studies, religious studies and history, she concentrates in her studies on the analysis of phenomena generally defined as cultural performances. Her first

research project which resulted from this adopted interpretative perspective was related to Mexico and its *danzas* accompanying the religious feasts, also with the 16th c. evangelizing theatre in New Spain. In the following project she concentrated the research on Passion Plays in Poland – primarily on the relations of performativity and religious experience. In the interpretation of those issues she combined the category of the anthropology of experience with the performance concept, demonstrating the importance of practice and of sensual contact with sacrosanctity in a religious experience.

She then began research on historical reconstruction in Poland, situating it in the *representation* of history, allowing the examination not only of the process of experiencing the past, but also the construction of the vision of the past by its reproducers. Her studies on reconstruction deal also with issues of identity, nationalism, ideology and the practice of authenticity.

The Geography of the Adriatic Maritime Pilgrimages *

Ante Blaće

This research analyzes the impact of natural landscape features on the development of maritime pilgrimages in the Eastern Adriatic region. The study focuses on five sites, including the islands of Zečevo, Ugljan, Kornat, and Piškera in Croatia, along with the islet of Škrpjela in Montenegro. Notably, each of these locations is devoted to the worship of the Virgin Mary.

Employing a combination of fieldwork, drone surveys, and archival research

involving old maps and documents, this study unravels the intricate relationship between the environment and the religious practices of local communities. The findings suggest that the pilgrimage sites and churches in these regions were, to a significant extent, influenced by natural features, particularly secure harbors and areas shielded from prevailing winds. Noteworthy is the distinctiveness observed in the Kornat island pilgrimage site and church, where a connection with fertile land appears more pronounced than an emphasis on the maritime surroundings. This research emphasises how environmental determinants have shaped the pilgrimage geography, giving rise to unique ritualistic and religious practices.

Ante Blaće is Associate Professor at the Department of Geography, University of Zadar. His scientific work focuses on land-use changes, landscape development, tourism geography and the implementation of quantitative methods in geography. He is the executive editor of *Geoadria*, a scientific journal published by the University of Zadar and the Croatian Geographical Society – Zadar.

**JEJU CHILMEORIDANG YEONGDE-
UNGGUT: HAENYEO'S GESTURES AND
DIALOGUES THROUGH ANNUAL WATER
RITUALS TO HONOUR THE INTANGIBLE
WIND GODDESS, KOREA**

Hee Sook LEE-NIINIOJA

In a volcanic area off the southern coast of Korea, the Jeju islanders instilled a reverence for the sea. During the Joseon

Dynasty it was written that “Rites are held to honour the gods of forests, ponds, hills, trees, and stones, as there is a custom of valuing licentious sacrifices.”

Chilmeoridang Yeongdeunggut is a yearly ritual to pay tribute to Grandmother Yeongdeung, the goddess of the wind, during the second month of the lunar calendar across the island. It aims to pray for calm waters to have a bountiful catch and harvest from the sea. Grandmother Yeongdeung arrives with her family (the winds) to enjoy the island’s beauty. The sea is turbulent when the goddess is on the island, from early to mid-February. Spring comes when she leaves. Yeongdeung travels from China to Jeju, reaching Bokdeokgae Port. To find the rocks, she ascends Mount Hallasan, passes through Eoseungsaeng Dangolmeori, visits a cave on Mount Sanbansan and arrives in the Daridiggeut hamlet. On her 15th day’s residence, to ensure abundant crops, shells, abalones, and seaweed, she sows the seeds of five grains and plants seaweed seeds along the shore while enjoying the blossoming peach and camellia. The sea is cleansed to promote the growth of seeds. Every village conducts a shaman rite; Chilmeoridang Yeongdeunggut is the most notable.

The rite also worships the Dragon King of the Sea and village guardian gods. Jeju has a women’s diving community for collecting seafood. Each haenyeo has her cognitive sea map and commands knowledge of the winds and tides without oxygen masks. Representing the island’s spirit, the culture of Jeju haenyeo has enhanced women’s status and sustainability. They imprint an indispensable part of Jeju’s identity since most families have facilitated haenyeo. This paper discusses various religious-cultural traditions and elements of ephemeral Yeongdeunggut in the context

of perpetual haenyeo.

Hee Sook LEE-NIINIOJA is a scholar /journalist/artist/designer. She became an Asian pioneer student studying in Scandinavia (1975), holding degrees (BA, journalism: South Korea; BA & MA, art-design: Norway; MA, visual communication: USA; PhD, architecture: UK, besides theology, literature, and language studies.

Specialising in comparisons of Hindu-Buddhist/Christian/Islamic architecture, cultural heritage, collective memories-emotions, and semiotic texts- images, she has published widely and has been involved in teaching, lectures, and workshops at universities, institutes, hospitals, prisons and NGOs worldwide. Her monograph *The Continuity of Pre-Islamic Motifs in Javanese Mosque Ornamentation, Indonesia* was published by Archaeopress Publishing in 2022.

She received the Order of Civil Merit from the South Korean President and appreciation from Kuwait and Indonesia for her cultural diplomacy, humanitarian work, and various writings. From 2017-20 she was President of ICOMOS-ICICH (Scientific Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage), and is involved in the International Press Institute (IPI), and Global Water Museum Network (WAMU-NET).

The Marriage of the Sea and the Cosmic-Political Vision of Carl Schmitt

Orazio Maria Gnerre

The German jurist and political scientist Carl Schmitt (1888 –1985) developed a specific reading of political phenomena based on various aspects, which overlap, intersect and merge into a unitary theory. In this very particular vision, the geopolit-

ical aspect plays a very important role, which in turn is inspired by a fundamental cosmic vision, in which natural elements take on substantial importance. In addition to his seminal texts which find a meeting point between geopolitics and legal history and theory, Schmitt defined the heart of these problems in a short essay, written almost in the style of a fairy tale, dedicated to his daughter Anima, named “Land and Sea”. In this short essay he traces a radical difference between the influence that maritime and telluric spaces have on human beings, and how this ultimately determines the destinies of the world.

However, in a very interesting passage, Schmitt, developing a theory of coexistence between the human being and the aquatic element, talks about the ritual that the Doge of Venice practiced cyclically, in which he married the Italian city with the sea. This ritual had a very important value for the inhabitants of Venice, skilled navigators, and defined a particular form of coexistence between human beings and the sea.

In this paper, I intend first of all to talk about this ancient Italian public rite, to define the conception of the sacred linked to maritime spaces and the aquatic element in the Republic of Venice, and subsequently describe the importance that this religious and civil phenomenon had for the theoretical system by Carl Schmitt. This is also of great importance with respect to a study of the “sacred” relationship of human beings with the sea, because geographical spaces have, in Carl Schmitt’s thought, a cosmic value for the associated life of the human being, and this is increasingly reflected in religious phenomena.

Orazio Maria Gnerre has three-year degree in Political Science and Interna-

tional Relations at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart of Milan. He holds a Master's degree in European and International Policies at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart of Milan. He is a PhD Candidate in Legality, Political Cultures and Democracy at the University of Perugia. He is a visiting student at Sorbonne Université de Paris, University of Málaga, Complutense University of Madrid.

INTERFAITH CONVERGENCE AND SHARING IN MEDITERRANEAN ISLANDS

Dionigi Albera

Throughout the millennia, the Mediterranean Sea has played an important role from the point of view of human interaction and circulation. Century after century, it has brought the surrounding continental masses into contact. Even after the break-up of Roman imperial unity, the medieval and modern Mediterranean was crisscrossed by a multitude of relations and exchanges. The cultural and political divisions that traversed the Mediterranean region like so many scars were often spanned by bridges and walkways. A number of movements oriented on religious purposes constitute a not insignificant component of this human circulation that may be seen as a persistent character of the sea.

In this talk, I will focus on some forms of pilgrimage that shape a maritime liminal space through the encounter and interpenetration between different faiths. After tracing the general contours of this phenomenon, I will try to highlight the importance of islands from this point of view. Along the history of the Inner Sea, islands

have often given form to contact zones between competitive and inimical civilizations. In several respects, they can be seen as places of cultural synthesis. Some islands generated liminal spaces, where borders between different religions can be temporarily bracketed and where it has been possible to observe shared practices and conceptions.

I will focus on two examples of this situation. Located in the central Mediterranean, between Sicily and North Africa, Lampedusa is more than 120 miles from the Sicilian coast, 100 from Malta, and about 70 from the nearest point in Tunisia. In recent years, Lampedusa has become the symbol of migrants' crossing of the Mediterranean, this contemporary tragedy at the southern gateway to Europe. In early modern times, the island was uninhabited except for the sporadic presence of a few hermits. The symbolic epicenter of this small territory was a cave (located just above a small bay) which at some point in time was transformed into a tiny sanctuary dedicated to the Virgin. Moreover, this site had a distinctive feature: alongside the little chapel, the grotto also contained a section devoted to the Islamic cult, with the tomb of a Muslim saint. Lampedusa was thus configured as a neutral space. Turkish, Arab and European sailors used to seek shelter there during a storm or stop on the island to stock up on water and food. Everyone, regardless of religion, never failed to visit this shrine and leave offerings there.

My second example is the Tunisian island of Djerba. During the first half of the twentieth century, the Ghriba synagogue in Djerba was an important regional pilgrimage center, attracting Jewish pilgrims not only from the main basin of Djerba's influence – southern Tunisia, Libya – but also

from more distant lands (Morocco, Egypt, Greece). Writing in 1906, an observer remarked that this synagogue was “a sort of Jewish Lourdes, not without its Mussulman and even its Christian votaries”. Jewish musicians and singers were brought in from Tunis, but also from Cairo and Alexandria. Boats were chartered to transport the pilgrims from the ports of Tunisia, Tripolitania, Egypt, and Greece. Caravans of merchants went to Djerba to sell religious books and objects. For several days, ceremonies, songs, music, and feasts followed one another, in an atmosphere that, according to a witness who was there in 1930, evoked that of an “oriental Lourdes”.

Dionigi Albera is an anthropologist and senior research fellow at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). He is based at the IDEMEC (Institute of European Mediterranean and Comparative Ethnology, Aix-Marseille University), which he directed from 2006 to 2016. His research focuses on Europe and the Mediterranean, and his interests include migration, kinship and family, pilgrimage, and interfaith mixing.

Albera has published two monographs, 33 articles in peer-reviewed journals, and 70 book chapters. He has edited 16 books and three journal issues. Albera’s book *Sharing Sacred Spaces in the Mediterranean: Christians, Muslims and Jews at Shrines and Sanctuaries* (Indiana University Press, 2012), co-edited with Maria Couroucli, was first published in French and then translated into Spanish, English, and Italian. His other recent publications include *New Pathways in Pilgrimage Studies*, co-edited with John Eade (Routledge, 2016); *Reframing the History of Family and Kinship: From the Alps towards Europe*, co-edited with Luigi Lorenzetti and Jon Math-

ieu (Peter Lang, 2016); *Dictionnaire de la Méditerranée*, co-edited with Maryline Crivello and Mohamed Tozy (Actes Sud, 2016); *International Perspectives on Pilgrimage Studies: Itineraries, Gaps and Obstacles*, co-edited with John Eade (Routledge, 2015); *Pellegrini del nuovo millennio*, co-edited with Melissa Blanchard (Mesogea, 2015); and *Dieu, une enquête: Judaïsme, christianisme, islam; Ce qui les distingue, ce qui les rapproche*, co-edited with Katell Berthelot (Flammarion, 2013);

Albera was one of the curators of the touring exhibition Shared Sacred Sites held at the Museum of Mediterranean and European Civilizations in Marseille (Mucem, 2015), the Bardo Museum in Tunis (2016), the Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art and the National Museum of Photography in Thessaloniki (2017), the National Museum of the History of Immigration in Paris (2017–2018) and the Museum of Confluences-Dar el-Bacha in Marrakesh (2018).

MARITIME PILGRIMAGE TO MADONNA OF THE REEF IN PERAST, MONTENEGRO *

Mario Katić

Contemporary Montenegro has become a country of political crisis in which state and church institutions have an active role. This crisis overflows into everyday life on all levels. National, religious and family identity are being questioned on a daily basis. By looking at maritime pilgrimage to the Madonna of the Reef in Perast, I want to address so far neglected relational aspects between the locals (in some case pilgrims) and their environment. I consider the relational perspective as one of the

main reasons that the custom of *Fašinada*, as a part of the pilgrimage, transcended its religious and political context and became a space for interreligious encounters. It is very rarely, within the pilgrimage context, that we can encounter a group of people performing what we can frame as a religious ritualistic practice connected to a sacred site and sacred object but without visiting the sacred place or the object itself, as I found in Perast in the custom of *Fašinada*.

Briefly, *Fašinada*, as the locals call it, refers to the transporting of stones by boat from the coast to the small island of the Madonna of the Reef in order to both commemorate the finding of a miraculous painting of the Madonna on a reef in the sea, and the construction of the island through the piling of stones on that reef. Because of decades of dynamic and substantial changes in political, religious, economic, identity and other contexts, the contemporary participants of *Fašinada* are more interested in the experience of boat procession rather than visiting the island of the Madonna of the Reef itself. I argue that *Fašinada*'s more-than-human agencies enabled this practice to absorb other meanings, and draw participants that are different in religion and identity from members of the local community. However, I do not neglect the social aspect and human agency that I considered important in order to understand the true role that more than human agents play in this pilgrimage site and practices.

By using the maritime pilgrimage to the Madonna of the Reef as a case study, I want to discuss the outcomes of the processes during which the boats and experiencing the boat procession as a part of the pilgrimage become more important than the sacred object itself and the pil-

grimage site. Additionally, I want to discuss what can we learn about the importance of maritime pilgrimage infrastructure and its role within pilgrimage.

Mario Katić is an Associate Professor at the University of Zadar, Department of Ethnology and Anthropology. His main areas of interest are pilgrimage, folklore and death studies, intangible cultural heritage, historical anthropology, urban anthropology and research methodology.

He is co-editor of *Approaching Pilgrimage Methodological Issues Involved in Researching Routes, Sites, and Practices* (Routledge, 2023); *Military Pilgrimage and Battlefield Tourism* (Routledge, 2017); *Pilgrimage, Politics and Place-making in Eastern Europe* (Routledge, 2014), *Pilgrimage and Sacred Places in Southeast Europe* (Lit Verlag, 2014), and author of *Death in Dalmatian Hinterland* (Naklada Ljevak, 2017). Since 2018 he has been the PI of the Croatian part of the project Competition in a Post-conflict Landscape (NSF), and from 2020 he is the PI of the project Adriatic Maritime Pilgrimages in Local, National and Transnational Context (Croatian Science Foundation).

CATHOLICS AND MUSLIMS AT THE PROCESSION OF OUR LORD OF NAVIGATORS

Laura Mineiro Teixeira

Recognized as one of the largest Catholic manifestations in Portugal, the Procession in Honor of Our Lord of Navigators, held annually in the largest fishing center in the country – the Caxinas community – involves the whole community in

a process of reaffirmation of their identity, strongly marked by the relationship with the sea, losses, and their memory.

Since 1897, when we have the first written register about the celebration, it's the fishermen who pay for the Procession and carry the sixteen saints through the neighbourhood. The Procession is understood as a place of memory (Nora 1993) of the people of the sea, as it is a time when the memories related to their way of life are allegorically reproduced and, consequently, transmitted to the next generations, thus guaranteeing a cohesion between the people of a community that is increasingly losing its (Portuguese) fishermen.

In the last five years, Indonesian – and Muslim – manpower has been replacing the Portuguese, promoting a significant change in Caxinas' social landscape. As these are now the “men of the sea”, they are also the ones responsible for carrying the saints, a fact that begets an interesting aesthetic syncretism. In this paper, I bring the hypothesis that the Procession, nowadays transcends the borders of a “Catholic rite” and is becoming a syncretic celebration of the maritime identity of this community.

Laura Mineiro Teixeira has a degree in History from the Universidade Federal Fluminense (Brazil) and a masters degree in Cultural Heritage from Universidade do Minho (Portugal). She is currently undertaking the PhD program in Anthropology: Politics and Images of Culture and Museology in the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa (Portugal), with a research project about memory and identity of the fishing community from Caxinas (Vila do Conde) through the analysis of an “imagined museum” by the population.

Laura has already worked with

memory and safeguarding of the community's heritage from the fishing community of the São Francisco River (Brazil) and, since her masters degree, concentrates her studies on the northern coast communities of Portugal.

PILGRIMAGE TO OUR LADY OF ZEČEVO AS INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE *

Mirela Hrovatin

The celebration of Our Lady of Zečevo was inscribed as an element of Intangible Cultural Heritage into the Register of Cultural Heritage of Croatia in 2013 on the initiative of Tourist Office in Nin.

Based on the recent fieldwork and data gathered by open interviews and participant observation methods, this paper will focus on the processes that take place during various activities connected to this celebration and maritime pilgrimage, as well as its status as an intangible cultural heritage element in the community and for the public. The notions of heritagization, appropriation and touristification of this example of pilgrimage and religious celebration will be discussed by relying on the relevant literature in the field of cultural heritage studies and anthropology of pilgrimage.

Mirela Hrovatin finished an MA in Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology and English Language and Literature in 2005, and her PhD in the subfield of the Anthropology of Religion in 2015 at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb.

As an Ethnologist and Cultural Anthropologist she has been working

since 2006 in the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia on the safeguarding of cultural heritage, especially intangible cultural heritage. She has prepared more than 100 inscriptions of intangible cultural elements into the Register of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia, as well as about 20 nominations of intangible elements for the inscription on the UNESCO's intangible heritage world lists (Representative and Urgent, as well as Register of Good Practices). From 2011 until 2015 she was a representative of the Republic of Croatia in UNESCO's Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage for SE Europe in Bulgaria.

From 2016 until 2018 she taught at the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Zagreb, delivering an undergraduate course she designed on cultural-anthropological approaches to personal religious practices as the first Ethnologist and Cultural Anthropologist at that Faculty. Since 2018 she has taught also an independently designed course on safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage at the Catholic University of Croatia in Zagreb. She is a member of the international network of pilgrimage research EASA PILNET, INASEA, Croatian Ethnological Society and Croatian Mariological Institute of the Faculty of Theology. She received a "Franjo Markovic" student prize of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.

PILGRIMAGE AS A SOCIAL CENTER OF A COMMUNITY – SOCIAL SPACES AND NETWORKS IN THE EXAMPLE OF OUR LADY OF THE SNOWS IN KUKLJICA *

Adriana Pojatina

Kukljica is a small fishing commu-

nity on the island of Ugljan where the pilgrimage to Our Lady of the Snows takes place every year on August 5th. The locals consider Our Lady of the Snows as their patron saint, and the day of her worship is regarded as the most important celebration of the year from the participants' perspective. The practice and experience of this pilgrimage are framed within the maritime context, as the majority of the movement of the pilgrims and the sacred object—the statue of Our Lady of the Snows—takes place by sea. This pilgrimage holds exceptional local importance for the residents of Kukljica in terms of collective memory, shaping and maintaining identity, and fostering a sense of belonging. The pilgrimage period coincides with the most intensive return of the diaspora, further expanding the meanings of this pilgrimage through transnational ties. It is a religious practice with strong social and identity implications for the community members.

So, in this paper pilgrimage is approached as a social center in the observation of the Kukljica community. This community functions as a network of relationships among various individuals and groups who embody different roles that become part of the people's identity in the context of the pilgrimage. By positioning the pilgrimage as the social center of this community, the purpose is to demonstrate the ways in which the relationships of individuals and groups negotiate and interconnect to sustain this practice.

Adriana Pojatina completed an MA of Ethnology and Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Zadar in 2019. During her undergraduate studies she was a member of the research student project "Life of Croats in Novi Travnik, BiH" which resulted in the work "When young people

are not a priority in the city of youth” in the volume “Novi Travnik between utopia and nostalgia” (2016).

During her graduate studies, she was a member of the research team of the student project “Contemporary contexts of traditional culture of Croats from Vareš, BiH”. Her graduate thesis “Between Life and Death: Aging and Dying in Vareš, BiH” is based on the latter research. From 2019 she is a PhD student at the University of Zadar and employed as an assistant on the research project “Adriatic Maritime Pilgrimages in Local, National and Transnational Context” (PIGRIMAR) at the Department of ethnology and anthropology of the University of Zadar.

**THE PERCEPTION OF SPACE FROM
THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE ISLAND
COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE
PILGRIMAGE TO THE QUEEN OF
FISHERMEN ***

Petra Valovičić

The pilgrimage to the Queen of Fishermen is a small, local pilgrimage during which the community of Sali embarks on a two-hour journey through the Kornati archipelago to conduct a liturgy in the church of the Virgin Mary, the only remaining material trace of their former fishing settlement. Although at first glance it may seem that the community is celebrating its illustrious fishing past and affirming its fishing identity, placing it in the context of the location gives it much broader dimensions. The town of Sali on Dugi Otok and the bay of Piškera on the island of Jadra belong to the same geographical entity, the Kornati

archipelago. For the community of Sali, the archipelago represented a spatial, economic, social, and cultural entity until it was administratively separated from Sali in the mid-20th century.

By examining the pilgrimage through its processuality, I emphasize the navigation through the archipelago as the focal point of this presentation. During this pilgrimage, the community unfolds a collage of history, narratives, sea routes, embodied knowledge, and social and cultural relationships (Mahajan, 2013), which is further confirmed by the mapping technique. The performative determination of space makes it a fluid and changeable social process in which land, sea, and boats are “inextricably interwoven into complex, multi-faceted and shifting arrays of relations and assemblages” (Pugh, 2013, 11). Therefore, by observing this maritime pilgrimage throughout its performativity and relational aspect, I explore the perception of island and archipelagic space.

Petra Valovičić completed in 2016 a graduate single-subject study of cultural heritage and tourism, having completed in 2011 an undergraduate double-subject study of ethnology and anthropology and sociology at the University of Zadar. During her graduate studies, she founded Antropop - an association of anthropologists and ethnologists with the aim of networking, creating a platform for work, and popularizing these sciences. She held the position of president of the association for two terms and organized a number of activities, mainly in the field of visual culture. From 2020 she works as an assistant on the Croatian Science Foundation’s project at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, University of Zadar, and she is a PhD student at the University of Zadar.

REMOTENESS AND PERIPHERALITY ENHANCE RELIGIOSITY *

Karmen Turčinov

In this paper I will discuss how isolated conditions of life deepen relations of people among themselves, as well as their religiosity. My contribution to this topic is based on ethnographic research on the island of Murter and the Kornati archipelago, located on the eastern, Croatian side of the Adriatic sea, in central Dalmatia. I grew up in this local culture and often revisit it, although I have not lived there in my adult life.

The island of Murter has been densely inhabited for over two thousand years. Due to the shortage of cultivable land, the population experienced deprivation and hunger. During the 19th C., they were gradually buying land on the Kornati archipelago in order to supplement their home economies with sheep-raising, olive-growing, fishing and limited agriculture there. As until the mid 20th century the sea travel to Kornati had been done mainly by sail and rowing boats, the trip from Murter to distant ports could last a whole day, even with favorable winds. Permanent settlements have not been established on the archipelago. Long distance from permanent homes, isolation, and dependence on the whims of nature developed and deepened religiosity among the people. The interdependence of people, not only within extended families, but also among neighbors in Kornati, has been more intensive than at home on Murter.

Along the whole sailing route, the people from Murter appeal for protection to Christian, male Catholic saints to whom

also shrines were built on promontories and other locations visible from the sea. But the focal places of prayers and vows on the Kornati archipelago are chapels dedicated to St. Mary. Considering the religious practice of the islanders, it is obvious that the strongest religious institution is the Catholic Church which supports traditional, patriarchal cultural values. On the other hand, the widespread cult of St. Mary, pre-Christian and pre-Indoeuropean in origin, tells of the continuity of an egalitarian, matrifocal religious practice.

Karmen Turčinov in 2015 she defended her PhD thesis entitled: "Patriarchal relations of power and their subversion in the culture of the island of Murter and Kornati". She has participated in the project Action plan for sustainable usage of natural resources within the region of Murter, Vrana-Murter-Kornati, which was co-founded by the Office for Associations of the Government of the Republic of Croatia on the topic of patriarchal gender relations in the region of the island of Murter and Kornati.

The author's book based on her doctorate is in the process of being published by the University of Zadar. Karmen participates on a regular basis in the journal *Spektar*, the school journal of the Natural Sciences and Graphic Design High School in Zadar. Between 2010 and 2017, she conducted several expert workshops at the Department of Ethnology of the National Museum in Zadar as well as in the City Museum of Samobor with the participants ranging in from pre-school to student age.

* This paper is a result of the Croatian National Science Foundation research project titled Adriatic Maritime Pilgrimages in Local, National and Transnational Context (8226)

